1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

outdance and out-sing and out-party most of the men fifty years younger than himself.[6]

Since Tu'untalumi was a senior Tiwi household head who spent more of his time attending festivals, funerals, fights, and other collective occasions than did most of his contemporaries, it is instructive to examine his movements over a full year. If he had kept an engagement book during 1928-29, it would have looked something like this:

Early April (*end of wet season*): Leaves his home base in Tangio where he has spent most of the wet season and visits the Mission station to attend a few small funerals (children who have died at the Mission in the preceding months). During these funerals a series of fights and duels also takes place. Total people present: perhaps fifty or sixty. Time thus spent in helping to wind up public business: five days. Returns home to Tangio and remains there for rest of April.

End of April: Goes to Rangu with a big party of other Tiklauila for a funeral (junior elder). Fairly big funeral, lots of people, lots of disputes. Time away, including leisurely journey to and from Rangu, about two weeks. Gets back home about middle of May.

Middle of May—end of June: Lives quietly at home with his household in Tangio.

About July 1st: Goes to Mission for a few days, "visits" with whoever is there. Tries out a new composition of his own (song and dance) on group camped at Mission. Returns home for rest of July.

Last week of July: Taking his younger wives and their children with two senior wives in charge of them, sets out for Malau for a big funeral with lots of people and fights. There he performs his new dance; is much consulted on ceremonial matters by the Malauila; gets into a few fights himself but handles them with dignity and honor; remains in Malau two weeks; stops off to visit and attend a small funeral with the Munupula on his way back; has a fight with a Munupula while there; returns to the Mission; stays there a day or two dispensing all the news from Malau and Munupi to those camped there; issues invitations for a grass burning in some sections of Tangio which were not burned in April or May. Goes on home to Tangio where some of his older wives have remained during his absence. Total time away: about three weeks.

End of August: Is joined in Tangio by several other Tiklauila and Rangwila households whom he has invited. Grass burning and joint kangaroo hunting goes on for four or five days. Dancing and partying at night. After five days most of visiting group leave and he and his household remain alone in Tangio until well into October.

[6] There is no suggestion that Tu'untalumi was in any way an official ritual leader. All old men, by virtue of their years, were to some extent ritual leaders; he had merely worked harder and longer at it than most of them. His tirelessly joyful personality had a good deal to do with his success in the self-established role. In a culture that might be thought likely to make all its men gloomy, anxiety-ridden introverts, he was a warm, happy, dignified old extrovert and he was widely admired.

I: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

observe the spontaneous gesture with which men, on leaving the Mission, automatically threw off their loincloths at the Mission fence and headed for the bush as naked as the day they were born. Women, in pre-white days, habitually carried a piece of bark which they held in front of themselves whenever they met a male. As soon as string or rope was introduced by the early white contacts, the women found it more convenient to tie some sort of band around their waists and double the piece of bark over this waistband. This was much handier since it left the hands free, but the bark, being stiff and unsecured, was at best a very capricious covering, and old women in the midst of public arguments often tore off their aprons and threw them at their opponents as a gesture of contempt.

Young women were more decorous and fussed modestly with their bark aprons when young men were present rather in the same way as American coeds fuss with their skirts in crowded classrooms. Theoretically, young women were supposed never to meet either young men or men outside their own household, and so the bark apron, carried in the hand, was in aboriginal times merely something to have in case of emergency. It was noticeable in Tiwi ceremonies that when the women danced, they did nothing with their hands. We think this was because, in pre-white days, their right hands, at least, were needed to hold their bark aprons in front of their pubic regions, since at dances they were in the presence of strange men.

This brief account of the daily and yearly life of the Tiwi households enables us to draw a few important conclusions about their economic life:

1. Compared with many of the mainland tribes, the Tiwi were economically rather well-off, in that the bigger household units were usually able to produce a food surplus.

2. This food surplus varied directly with the number of working wives that a household head possessed.

3. A household head with many wives was therefore, in Tiwi terms, a wealthy man who could retire entirely from the food quest and devote his time to other activities.

4. Such men were able to devote full time to other activities such as manufacturing useful and ceremonial objects and participation in ceremonial affairs and public life.

5. Wealthy men, active in one or all of these pursuits, were the "big men" of the tribe. In each band there were two or three such men, and in the whole tribe perhaps less than twenty had attained full success or were ranked by public opinion as being the most admired and influential. The next chapter examines the career patterns by which every male Tiwi sought to become, and a few succeeded in becoming, a big man.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

stant dancing and singing, were rather dull and monotonous, considered as ceremonial. The gaily colored posts erected right on the grave served as a sort of central altar. Every senior male sang and danced in turn " his own dance" and the rest of the men standing in a large circle acted as a major chorus. A large gap was left in the circle of men and into this gap and out again danced the women in a disorderly clump, as a sort of minor chorus. Most of the day was taken up with endless repetitions of these individually owned and individually performed dances which had no relation whatever to death or the deceased, but which each "owner" used on every ceremonial occasion. In addition, there were a few ritual performances that were special to the fact of death, including the grand finale of every mourning ceremony, when everybody present, led by the mourners, collectively charged the posts and then roared past them into the surrounding bush. This was done to drive the spirits away from the grave finally and forever and thus end the mourners' state of *pukimani*.

We have no space for further details of ceremonial, but enough has been said to indicate that mourning ceremonies, the biggest collective occasions of the Tiwi dry season, were as much political affairs as they were religious occasions. The connecting link was the state of *pukimani* in which death put the relatives. Men in a state of *pukimani* were at a disadvantage in social and political life while that state lasted. They had to ask other people to do things for them. They had to "pay" for these favors. At the same time they could not afford to be niggardly in running their relative's funeral. If they were, they would never live it down. In such an atmosphere we have to conclude that the spiritual welfare of the deceased was relegated to a minor place and that for the mourners the real climax of the days of frenzied grief around the posts came when the spirits were driven away from the grave into the bush and thus their own *pukimani* state, which had been such a political handicap to them for many months, came to an end.

INITIATION Space permits only the barest mention of initiation, which was, along with mourning, the chief vehicle of Tiwi ritual. For females there were no initiation ceremonies, but for males it was a long drawn-out and elaborate affair, marked by successive stages or grades which began with the status of *Marukumarni*, which a boy entered when he was about fourteen, and did not end finally until he was around twenty-four. Here again we meet the ideology of debt and obligation. The group of men, necessarily older than himself, who initiated a youth thereby put him under obligation to them for the rest of his life. They "did something for him" and years later would bring it up if his subsequent behavior seemed to be directed against their interests. The obligations contracted in initiation, like obligations contracted at burials or mourning ceremonies, were woven into the kinship and influence systems; indeed the relation of a youth to the men who initiated him was often the beginning of a satellite-patron relationship that lasted half his life.

The initiation of a boy had to be undertaken by a group of men who were already fully initiated themselves and who stood to him in the relation of male cross-cousins. Preferably such men were either married to or likely

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

pennant, and the Wanderers, which draws from the permanent native population in Darwin and includes such Tiwi as Bobby Wilson. It is normal for one of these Tiwi players to be considered among the top three in Darwin football circles. 177 526 648

For a while, Edmund, a Tiwi from Bathurst Island Mission, was one of the players on the newly organized St. Mary's basketball team; other Tiwi have played on the Bagot Compound basketball team. Billy Larrakeyah, a Darwin Tiwi, was thought to have Olympic potentialities as a javelin thrower, but strained his arm in the try-outs.[6] Most recently, a group of young Catholic Tiwi has been organized into a water polo team called the Seals. National magazines suggest that they may be the best water polo team in the country, but so far they have not gone south to play any non-Darwin group.

Tiwi carving and painting have had recent popularity in Australian art circles. Traditional Tiwi gravepoats are finely carved in geometric designs and painted with precise and complex networks of cross-hatching and other simple, but effective, motifs. The first modern innovation in Tiwi art occurred about 1945 when a native known as Katu (or Short Katu) made his first attempt to carve a human figure atop a mourning post. When Pilling later asked Katu why he had carved this post, he said, "Me see 'm along Darwin. Me savvy." That is, Katu transferred the concept of Western realistic statuary in the round into the Tiwi art form. He carved a second realistic post for presentation to Queen Elizabeth II in 1954. More recently, Tiwi carvers at Snake Bay have taken to realistic carving. Two figurines, both carved by Tiwi at Snake Bay, were given to the Perth Museum in 1958. Sixteen mourning posts from Snake Bay were purchased by the National Art Gallery in Sydney the same year. An art display of Tiwi carving has been held in the United States in Philadelphia. 177 532 322

Tiwi have received recognition in the Northern Territory for other art forms. One of the thirty-year-old female Tiwi at Bathurst Island Mission usually takes first prize for embroidery at the annual Territorial fair. There has also been interest shown by outsiders in the double-barbed ceremonial spears. Male Tiwi skill in dancing has attracted wide attention in Australia. When natives from all over the Territory were sent to dance before Queen Elizabeth in Queensland during her 1954 tour, three Tiwi were among the delegation. The Tiwi contingent, directed by the innovator Short Katu, made every news story covering this part of the Royal Visit. In Darwin, when Bagot Compound needs to raise money for native participation in sports, the Tiwi, usually led by Katu, present a public dance. As a result, Katu's clan under his direction has invented many new dances for white Australian audiences. 177 [531] 177 535 648

Perhaps we may look forward to the day when American television audiences can enjoy such a Tiwi dance, one of Australia's best native products. Yet only sixty years ago, and therefore in the lifetime of many people still living, very few Tiwi had even seen a white man, and white men who set foot on Tiwi soil, like Cooper in his first attempt in 1897, were ferociously chased out.

[6] He was killed in a brawl in Darwin in the spring of 1959.

2: Mountford E.-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

764 of *Pulaminkuri's* wife, *Nulatini*, which I saw, the general pattern was similar. I shall, however, describe both burials, that of *Nulatini* being the more detailed.

(1) *The Burial of Waniamperi*

On the day that *Waniamperi* died, *Murawuni*, one of his near relatives, who wanted the dead man buried near his mother, paid a young "worker"[88] a sum of money and two loin cloths to dig the grave.

When the corpse was brought to the burial ground, a number of relatives had a last look at the dead man before he was laid on a series of logs, placed transversely across the bottom of the grave.

This act was a signal for concerted mourning, the women beating themselves with sticks and the men cutting their heads. For personal safety it is [753] [626] imperative that each man and woman show excessive grief, real or feigned, otherwise the *mopaditi*, annoyed at the lack of grief, will make the offending person ill.

After the mourning died down, the "workers" placed boughs on the body and filled in the grave, leaving a small mound on top (Pl. 24c).

[533] While this work was being carried out, the relatives stood on one side of the grave, either singing the *amburu*, the mourning song, or the rain song of Wailu, the totem of *Tiparawilimiri*, *Waniamperi's* father. To the chanting [535] of this song, the men acted the rain dance (Pl. 30a). The aborigines did not stage the totemic dances or chant the songs belonging to the fire totem of Wuriupi (*Waniamperi's* own totem), because, to have done so, would have especially attracted the attention of his *mopaditi*.

The "workers" laid *Waniamperi's* personal belongings at the base of a tree (Pl. 24d), tied his loin cloth and tobacco to the top of a thin sapling which had been driven into the ground at the head of the grave, made a large fire, and left a container of water.

[775] The aborigines believe that the *mopaditi*, seeing his belongings near at hand, water to drink and fire to warm himself and cook the food he gathers in the surrounding forest, will stay near the grave until the time comes for him to leave the locality.

While the "workers" were engaged on those tasks, the rest of the burial party quietly left, not looking behind, lest the *mopaditi* follow them to their camp.

[767] [88] These "workers" or *wanarar*, being distant relatives of the dead, are in little danger from the *mopaditis*. Therefore, it is safe for them to clean the site, dig the grave, handle the body, and carry out other tasks associated with burial. They are paid for their work by the chief mourners at the final *pukamani* rituals.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

764 and dug the grave, which was about six feet long and five feet six inches deep. But when, in the middle of the afternoon, four men appeared, carrying the body, in a fully extended position, and placed it beside the unfinished grave, a number of women, painted all over in white, sat beside the corpse and cried heart-brokenly until the grave was finished. There was a chorus of wailing [302] from both men and women when one of the "workers" painted *Pulanimbuwi's* [751] body entirely in white (Pl. 23A), as additional camouflage to confuse his wife's *mopaditi*.

The ceremonials associated with the burial started when first the husband, then a near relative, dancing astride the corpse, called out loudly, "*Yeak, yeak*". This ritual, called *wuramu*, was first introduced by the pelican-man at *Purukupali's* ceremony. At the present time it is performed by close relatives [775] of the dead, its object being to scare the *mopaditi* into the grave where it will not be a menace to the living.

After this ritual, two other men entered the grave and, standing, one either end, took the dead body from those above. Amid the sounds of wailing women and the clapping of men's hands on their buttocks, the corpse was gently laid on a bed of transverse logs on the bottom. Other "workers" cut green branches and placed them across the top of the grave.

The husband, carrying a lighted firestick, then entered the grave, burnt the hair on his legs and left immediately. The aborigines believe that the [775] *mopaditi*, smelling the burnt hair of her husband, and thinking he was beside her, stayed quietly in the grave.

The bushes were thrown into the grave, logs, about five feet long,[66] laid on top, and the hole was filled in, leaving a small mound which was covered with sheets of paper-bark (Pl. 24C). Short sticks were driven into the ground at the head and foot of the grave, on one of which the husband hung the meagre belongings of his wife.

764 Both men and women then performed a series of dances, the men danced
●535 the flying fox, shark and crocodile, while both the elder and younger women moved in a line toward the grave, holding large green leaves in their hands, palm upward, symbolizing the dead woman when a small child, being carried by her mother.

A woman, holding her breasts, impersonated *Nulatini's* mother feeding her, while a near male relative mimed the mother carrying *Nulatini* as an infant.

764 At the conclusion, *Pulanimbuwi* seated himself at the head of the grave,

[825] [66] The aborigines explained that the logs kept the dogs from unearthing the body, but as, at the present time, the body is over five feet underground, this does not appear to be the reason. It may be that, when tools were more primitive and graves not so deep, these precautions were necessary.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 177 533 [539] Parading around the unlit fire in the centre of the *milimika*, the performers chanted a telephone song, the literal translation of which is, "Hallo, that telephone there, hallo, yes, yes," some, as they did so, imitating the winding of the handle of an old-type magneto telephone.

When the fire, which had been started by a young man, was well alight, the men performed the ritual of *wundiatapinda* by jumping through flames and smoke, each shouting "telegraphy".

The men again assembled at the edge of the *milimika*, and, led by the *alawia*, called the localities on Melville Island where the white men had camped. As each name was called the aborigines shouted "*wia*" (yes).

One dancer held his hands high above his head, symbolizing a radio aerial, while his companions chanted the following words to the refrain of the telephone song:

[539] "The Queen sent a radio asking *Wurarbui* and other men to dance for her."

Then followed songs related to the radio and the telephone. These were usually performed with the traditional steps and gestures, except that, at the end, the actor mimed the ringing up with one hand, and the holding of the [535] telephone to the ear with the other.[60] As the men danced, the women moved into the *milimika* from the side, performing their own dance, the *amburu* (Pl. 30F), some of them crying and endeavouring to beat themselves. They were, however, restrained by their companions.

765 After a number of dances came the ceremony of appointing the men to carry out the work near the grave.

[616] At the death of any person the tribe divides into two groups: the *pukumunis*, near relatives of the dead, who are forbidden to touch food with their hands (Pl. 24A), or go near the grave, and the distant relatives, who can visit the grave site without fear of attack from the spirit (the *mapaditi*).

At *Waniamperi's* first *ilania*, the ceremonial leader chose, from the latter group, ten men, the *wanaras*, colloquially called the "workers". It was their duty to cut and paint the burial poles (one each), help to clear the grave site and dancing ground of sticks and stones, and to carry out other menial tasks associated with the final rituals. For these tasks, the "workers" were paid on the last day of the rituals.

When "workers" were chosen, the aged brother, *Nalgui*, of the dead man,

[60] This mixture of the ancient and the modern, shows how a living culture gradually absorbs the characteristics of an adjacent people, particularly those from a culture as dominant as our own.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

announced that he had bought enough food from the store at the settlement to feed all the men who were to cut the poles.[61]

Following this announcement, the chief woman mourner, *Prupadau*, whose privilege it was to decide on the size of the burial poles, marked with her toe, in the dust of the *milimika*, the length and thickness of a series of oversized poles.

This led to a great deal of discussion between the leader, *Wurarbui*, and the woman, *Prupadau*, before he finally persuaded her to reduce the dimensions of the poles to a reasonable size. *Prupadau* wanted the poles for her relative to be as many and as large as possible.

This matter settled, the "workers" brought a number of steel axes into the *milimika*. The *alawia*, painting the handles white and putting red cross lines on the blades, stood the axes in the centre of the dancing ground. Then both the *alawia* and the other performers walked around the axes singing the telephone song.

A series of traditional dances followed, representing *Jirakati*, the white-headed sea-eagle (Pl. 30j), *Puruti*, the sea-osprey, and *Tjalati*, the jabiru (Pl. 29a).[62] Two women and two young boys performed the shark (*Taduwale*) dance (Pl. 25c), the ritual finishing with the honey and mosquito calls. The "workers" picked up their axes and walked away, accompanied by everyone except *Prupadau*, who remained behind, still chanting the *amburu* song of mourning.

(*b*) *The Second Ilanias*

The second series of *ilanias* was performed about halfway between *Wurarbui's* camp and the burial ground.

In this series, we were able to see the traditional pattern of the *ilanias* in operation, including the return and feeding of the "workers" after their day's labour of cutting the poles near the grave site. The songs and dances, too, instead of referring, as in the first *ilanias*, to the goods of the white man, his radio and his telephones, dealt almost exclusively with dances belonging to the locality of Wailu, north-eastern Melville Island, the country of *Waniamperi's* father and the totemic place of fresh water, *Andjalui* (p. 42).

This series of *ilanias* could be divided into five sections,

[61] At the present time, this is just a traditional gesture, reminiscent of the days when it was the duty of the *pukamuni* group to feed the workers while they cut and painted the poles (Pl. 25a).

[62] In a creation myth, the jabiru is called *Tipuru-undanga*. It is likely that the bird has several names. Hart (1930, p. 280), draws attention to the multiplicity of names among the Tiwi.

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A

B

C

D

PLATE 25. *The Pukumuni Rituals*
A, Young Girls and Men Dancing; B, Feeding Pukumuni Workers; C, Women and Boys Dancing; D, Ceremonial Fight at Ilanla.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
O120 Tiwi O120

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

A B C D

PLATE 26. *The Final Pukamuni Rituals*
A, Erecting Poles on Grave; B, Arranging Gifts for Workers; C, The Basket Dance; D, Urumatjina's Dance.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

(iii) *The Totemic Songs and Dances.* At the completion of the meal, both the "workers" and the *pukamuni* men and women performed a series of dances to the accompaniment of traditional totemic songs.

Almost without exception, these songs and dances belonged to the totemic beings of Wailu, the country of *Tiparawilimiri*, the father of the dead man, *Wonimperi*.

These rituals were opened by the leader, who, standing in the centre of the *milimika*, called out the names of the totemic beings of Wailu, *Andjahui* (fresh water), *Pukadringa* (thunderstorm), *Tomituka* (rain), and *Bumerali* (lightning). As before, the assembled aborigines shouted "*wia*" after each name was called.

The men then chanted the rain song, "The heavy rain falls and the frog calls, *poki, poki, puturaka*", while the men danced, with their fingers pointing to the ground, symbolizing falling rain (Pl. 30a), and the woman, *Prupadau*, hopped along the ground in imitation of the frog-woman,[66] *Kwouk-kwouk*. As the dance proceeded, the men and *Prupadau* all imitated the actions of the frog-woman by hopping along the ground on their hands and knees.

While the dance was in progress, the leader called out "*Tomituka*" (rain). *Prupadau*, picking up a sheet of paper-bark, held it over her head and shivered, and the men, their hands clasped tightly over their heads, shouted, "*Batua, batua*" (rain finish). This completed the dance. *Pulanimbwi* danced the white-headed sea-eagle, *Jirakati* (Pl. 30j), before the *pumuti* began.

(iv) *The Pumuti.*[67] The *pumuti* rituals, which are always carried out with much goodwill, friendliness and laughter, were performed at most, if not all, of the *ilanias*, and, in a restricted form, at the final *pukamuni*.

At some stage, usually toward the end of the *ilania*, sometimes more than once, each man and woman, taking a bunch of leaves, or a roll of paper-bark and calling softly "*Ooh, ooh, ooh*", beat the wife, or husband, sisters, brothers, and all the near relatives of that particular spouse.

(v) *The Rite of Fire-jumping and the sending out of the Message Sticks.* The rite of fire-jumping, or *wandiatapinda*, carried out in the second series of *ilanias*, differed from that in the first series. Instead of the participants stepping over a fire (Pl. 24a), a number of the close relatives climbed a tree at the base of which others lit a fire of grass and leaves (Pl. 23c). As each man

[66] The frog-woman, whose totemic place is Wailu, north-eastern Melville Island, is the mother of *Pukadringa*, *Tomituka* and *Bumerali*.

[67] This ritual would tend to reduce tensions between the spouse and his, or her, relatives, which is considerable in some communities.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Neither *Jilungilakwi* nor any of the Bathurst Islanders performed spirited dances to these songs. The leader, impersonating a *Ningaui*, walked round the *milimila* with awkward, bent gait, either beating his music sticks together or holding his hands tightly against his sides with his fingers outstretched (Pl. 30E).

Following the *Ningaui* songs, the men lit a fire at the base of a eucalyptus tree which *Kasapi*, *Nangrinini*, and several other relatives of the dead man, climbed to perform the rite of *wandatapinda*. As each man slid down the trunk, the aborigines called the totemic place of Wailu, and the names of rain, thunder and lightning. Later, the men performed the rain dance (Pl. 30B) in the *milimila*, while the women, coming in from the side, danced the *amburu* (Pl. 30F).

(ii) *The Mission Lugger Songs and Dances*

The dances started with a long *ai, ai, ai*, which announced that the boat had been sighted. Then, while the men danced the sail of the boat, with their hands held above their heads, the leader chanted—

"The waves beat the sides of the boat, but it goes straight on."

With high prancing steps and hands rotating one over the other, the aborigines mimed the engines and the propeller of the lugger.

"The engines spark together as the waves hit the side of the boat."

Other songs, to which the performers danced the relevant actions, were—

"The wake of the lugger."

"The lugger is on the slips ready to be painted."

"We are scrubbing off the old paint and giving it a new coat."

Every time *Kasapi*, the son of the dead man, took part in the dance, the women set up a wail.

At the conclusion of the boat songs, the men and women took part in the *punnai*, lightly beating each other's spouses and their relatives with boughs.

(iii) *The Jabiru Songs and Dances*

The last series of dances were given by a middle-aged Bathurst Island man, *Nilimma*, who imitated, with humorous gesticulation and much abandon, the antics of the long-legged jabiru, *Tjalati* (Pl. 29A), as it walked, fished and rested in the lagoon.

The words of the *Tjalati* song were—

"When *Tjalati* lifts one leg, he is ready to fly."

At the conclusion of the *Tjalati* dance, the *ilania* ended with the honey and mosquito calls.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 (2) *The Ilanias of Nulatini*

[123] We were able to see the opening mourning rituals, *iramparimi*[88] of *Nulatini* and six of her *ilanias*.

[129] Rather than deal with all of these ceremonies in detail, I will describe the *iramparimi* rituals and a typical *ilania*, in which the aborigines carried out all phases of the rituals, with the exception of the appointment of the "workers". Although the rite of *punuti, wandiatapinda*, or feeding the "workers", did not take place at every *ilania*, they will be included in this description.

(a) *The Opening Mourning Ritual, Iramparimi of Nulatini*

Ten days after the burial of *Nulatini*, the aborigines of Melville Island performed the ritual of *iramparimi*. The function of that ceremony was to express [775] grief over *Nulatini's* death, and to tell her spirit that, as she did not now belong to the same realm as themselves, she must leave her grave and return to her totemic country.

The ceremony was held about thirty yards from the camp of the dead woman. Most of the aborigines were present, but two men, *Pulanimbuwi*, the husband, and *Tupiatira*, *Nulatini's* nearest relative, took the leading parts.

The rituals opened in the late afternoon with *Pulanimbuwi*, painted in [902] white, elaborately decorated and carrying a long stick, walking slowly to- [533] ward the assembled people, singing the *amburu*, the women's song of mourning (Pl. 23A).

Every now and again, the husband stopped, leaned on his stick and looked round (apparently for his wife's *mapadui*), before continuing on his way to the place of ceremony.

Coming out of the forest in an almost opposite direction was *Tupiatira*, also painted in white, waving green branches in his hands. About fifty yards from the old camp of *Nulatini*, *Tupiatira* called her name loudly, and, after listening for a while, announced that, as she had not answered, she must be dead.

As *Tupiatira* walked forward he continued to call, while *Pulanimbuwi*, now accompanied by his sister, *Kundi*, came in from the opposite direction, both singing the *amburu*. When the men were only a few yards apart the aborigines formed themselves into two lines, facing each other.

[535] At a signal and a loud "*Book, book*" from *Pulanimbuwi*, an old man, *Mahumerinita*, accompanied by six to eight of the men, danced between the

[88] The *iramparimi* of *Waniampari* was performed before our arrival.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

lines as flying foxes (the totem of *Nulatini's* father),[60] their arms moving [765] alternately up and down and their little fingers pointed skyward (Pl. 30c). [535]

The dance finished, the assembled men accompanied by *Pulanimbuwi* and *Tupiatira*, with their arms around each other's necks, mourned hysterically for the dead, while the women danced the *emburu* on the outside of the group. Several times, in his grief, *Tupiatira* collapsed to the ground only to be lifted to his feet again by the still mourning husband.

The sounds of mourning continued for some time, gradually becoming less until *Nangrinini* gave the honey and mosquito calls, and the ceremony was over.

(*b*) *The Ilania*

At one end of the *milimika*, which was situated at the camp of the dead woman, was a pole on which *Pulanimbuwi* had tied a piece of printed calico as a flag.

The *ilania* opened when seven of the "workers" giving the honey and mosquito calls, emerged from the forest, and, running toward the *milimika*, cast sticks and pandanus leaves, as spears, at the *pukamuni* men who awaited them. There was general fighting and much laughter before the "workers" were ejected.

In the centre of the *milimika*, as food for the "workers" a woman had [262] placed nine large cooked crabs which the "workers" distributed among themselves. After this was done, the men performed the rite of *wandiatapinda* by either walking through or jumping over the fire which had been lit in the *milimika*. *Nulatini's* husband did not take part in this ritual but, with a flat fighting stick in either hand, wandered about the ceremonial ground, singing the *emburu*.

Following these rituals, the aborigines chanted a number of songs and [533] carried out the following dances, those of the flying fox being totemically [765] related to the dead woman's father.

(i) The flying foxes and the sea-eagle.
(ii) The crocodile.
(iii) The shark and the stingray.
(iv) The flag songs.

(i) *The flying-fox and sea-eagle songs*

"The flying foxes are out late, eating the blossoms of the stringy-bark [539] and eucalyptus trees."

[60] As mentioned earlier, the totem of the dead person is never referred to in the *pukamuni* rituals.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

533 "The sea-eagle, *Jirakui*, dives upon the flying foxes, catching them in
539 her claws and eating them. The rest fly away."
765 "The flying foxes call to each other, the sea-eagle is attacking us—let us go."

As these songs were being chanted, a number of men clustered in the centre of the *milimika*, like a group of flying foxes in a tree.

With a loud call, *Nangrinini*, his outspread arms symbolical of the wings of the sea-eagle, *Jirakui* (Pl. 303), "swooped" down, scattering them in all directions.

As *Nangrinini* returned to the outside of the *milimika*, the "flying foxes" [535] reassembled and, with prancing steps again danced with their little fingers pointing upward (Pl. 300).

The flying-fox songs continued—

"Cast your throwing sticks where the flying foxes are thickest and break many wings at one time."

"Hit the flying foxes so that they will drop in the mud."

"Cook the black flying foxes and dry them in the sun."[39]

Again the men assembled and danced the flying-fox while *Malumerinita* called the totemic places of the flying fox at Muranapi (p. 56), interspersed with calls of "*Wia*" from his companions. *Pulanimbuwi* still wandered.

(ii) *The crocodile songs*

"You cannot cross the river because it is full of crocodiles."

"Beware, the crocodiles are in the mangroves waiting to catch us when we cross the river."

[535] These songs were accompanied by the spirited crocodile dance (Pl. 302), while *Malumerinita* called the names of the totemic places of the crocodile, *Jirakupai*, on south-west Bathurst Island.

(iii) *The shark and the stingray song*

"Do not spear the shark, it is chasing a stingray."

To this song several men performed the exhausting shark dance (Pl. 300).

(iv) *The flag songs*

"The wind blows and the flag moves."

[177] "The Government Administrator gets his flag from the Queen."

535 To these songs, the man danced with their hands, as a flag, moving above
765

[39] This song suggests that the Melville Islanders stored or traded the cooked and dried bodies of these creatures.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

their heads. During these songs, the husband sat quietly at one end of the *milimika*, with his head in his hands (Pl. 23b). 765 [535]

The *ilania* concluded with *Nangrinini* calling *Aluprumani* (a mangrove bird); *Malumerinita* calling *Tjirinini* (the red-backed sea-eagle) and the assembled men, making the honey and mosquito call.

During one of the *ilanias* of *Nulatini*, a near relative had his name changed from *Miralipaiwa* to *Tukuwuinganili*.[71] [533]

(3) *The Ilanias of Makapini*

At the same time as the *pukamuni* of *Waniamperi* was being performed, an old woman, *Makapini*, was baptized at Bathurst Island by the priest, just as she was dying, and, although she had never accepted Christianity, was buried, against the wishes of her relatives, in the mission cemetery. 797

The aborigines of both Bathurst and Melville Island were distressed over this incident because as *Makapini* had always been a "pagan" (as the mission authorities call the unconverted), her spirit could not go to the white man's "heaven", and, as the *pukamuni* ceremonies were prohibited on Bathurst Island, the spirit of *Makapini* was doomed to wander, lonely and unhappy, for ever. To prevent such a calamity (for lonely *mopaditis* are a danger to the living), the aborigines of Melville Island performed a modified *pukamuni*, called the *aramatruni-nipungari*,[72] so that, at its conclusion, the spirit of old *Makapini* would travel happily to her future home. 765 [775]

The pattern of this ceremony differed somewhat from that of *Waniamperi*. At a *milimika* near the camp of the ceremonial leader, *Malumerinita*, the Melville Island aborigines held five *ilanias* over a period of eight days. The final two days of the *pukamuni* were held among the poles.[73] I will describe a typical *ilania* and later the final *pukamuni* rituals.

The *ilania* opened with one of the "workers", who had been in the forest cutting the burial poles, running toward the *milimika*, stick in hand, giving the honey call. One of the *pukamuni* men rushed out to drive him away, but, after a sham fight with throwing sticks, brought him into the *milimika*.

The predominating songs and dances of this and other *ilanias* of *Makapini* were associated with the mythical wild-honey people[74] of Bathurst Island. 765 533 535

[71] Hart (1930, pp. 280–99) describes how the custom of altering the names of near relatives at death causes rapid changes in the language.

[72] This type of *pukamuni* ceremony is also held when aborigines are drowned at sea and their bodies not recovered. [766]

[73] This was a variation of the previous *pukamuni*, probably because the body was not at the place of ceremony.

[74] Although I did not inquire, it is certain from the songs, that the father or mother of the dead woman belonged to one of the honey totems of Bathurst Island.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 533 [535] Many of them referred to "creation times" when *Tukimbini*, of Muruplangs told the honey people of Bathurst Island to be the *pukamuni* men and women at the burial rituals of *Purukupali* (p. 30).

The following is a selection of the honey songs—

[539] "Let all the men who are *mandalini* (a eucalyptus flower, particularly rich in honey) come to this place (Tapararimi) and dance for the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*."

"With all your ornaments, start walking (to Tapararimi)."

"Bring all your ceremonial ornaments to our place (Tapararimi) where we will hold a big ceremony."

Another man chanted a lengthy song describing the death of *Purukupali*, and another, which instructed the performers, at the conclusion of the rituals, to take the cane rings, *jairinis* (Pl. 31H) from their arms and leave them on the grave.

The songs and dances about *Purukupali*, the honey people of Bathurst Island, and their doings at the first *pukamuni*, were followed by another series which related specifically to the collecting of wild honey. In all these [535] performances, the men carried out the honey dance with high knee action, their hands held above their heads and their fingers pointing upward (Pl. 30D).

One man sang about a fly that lives in the hives of wild bees and about a large hive in a tree with a long snout (entrance) and much honey. Then, accompanied by several others, he mimed the action of bees flying in and out of a hive; the aborigines locating the hive, climbing the tree, cutting off the limb containing the hive, and eating the honey. These dances were followed by the ceremonial leader, *Malumerinita*, calling out the totemic places of honey, most of them on Bathurst Island. As each name was called, the assembled aborigines shouted "*wia*".

A young man started to sing about a pearling lugger, but was told by old *Tjamalampua* to stop and use only the *palaneri* songs. The same man then [535] danced the actions of the jabiru, *Tjalati*, to the appropriate song (p. 75), and one relating to the buffalo,[78] to the accompaniment of "*Prr, prr, papringipali*" (go away big eye, prr, prr), then a song of *Arumi*, the poison fish: "*Aruni aruni, drr, drr, drr*", which referred to the sinking of a boat, the *W'anganui*, off south-western Bathurst Island.[79].

[825] [78] The aborigines believe that the buffalo, brought to Fort Dundas in 1824, belong to the *palaneri* (creation) period.

[79] The *aruni* is a spiny poisonous fish (possibly the stone fish), which was supposed to have sunk the *W'anganui* by driving its spines through the ship's bottom. The *drr, drr*, of the song represents the sounds of the spines as they were driven into the ship.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 (c) The payment of the "workers".
(d) The erecting of the poles.
(e) The final mourning rituals.

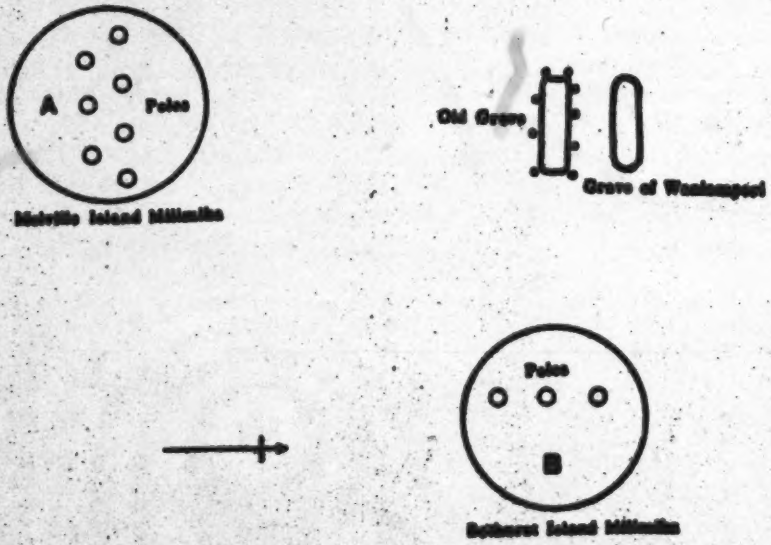

FIG. 4. *Ceremonial Ground, Wanimpui's Pukamani*

(a) *The Opening Rituals*

Early on the first morning, the men, women and children left the main camp and travelled to a temporary ceremonial ground, in the forest, about three hundred yards east of the grave.

The Melville Island group, under *Wurarbui*, assembled straightaway and performed a small *ilania*, in which some of the men, after the usual honey and mosquito calls, started to chant the rain song of *Tomiuka*, whilst others [533] either lit a fire and crouched over it, or sheltered under pandanus trees, shivering as if wet and cold.

As the song changed to the *impok, impok*, of the frog-woman, several men [535] and the woman, *Prupadau*, hopped around the *milimika* in imitation of a frog (Pl. 290).

When the Melville Islanders dispersed to paint themselves, the Bathurst Island men, under *Jibunglialuni*, performed another *ilania* on the same spot.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The leader started a song describing a fight in which the dead man, *Wandamperi*, had taken part. To this refrain, the performers mimed the action of men struggling together, beating each other with throwing sticks, or casting spears.

In the middle of this performance, *Katopi*, the son of the dead man, rushed into the forest beating himself with a throwing stick, followed by his step-mother, *Dominao*, who forcibly disarmed him. At the conclusion of the dance, and when quiet was restored, *Nilituma* carried out the same jabiru dance we had seen at the Bathurst Island *ilania* a few days previously (Pl. 29A). At the conclusion of the jabiru dance the Bathurst Islanders retired to paint themselves for the final rituals. In general, the "workers" painted the leading *pukamuni* men, some husbands painted their wives, their children and themselves.

In the late afternoon, the assembled men, women and children, their faces and bodies painted with the most elaborate designs, and decorated with colourful *pukamuni* ornaments (frontispiece), made their way along the road, calling continuously in the high-pitched mosquito call until within a hundred yards of the grave. At that point the two groups separated. Each group lit a fire and carried out, first the rite of *wandiatapinda*, followed by a basket dance (later to be performed at the grave side (Pl. 26C), then went to their respective *milimikas* (Fig. 4A, B).

Pausing only to assemble at those places, both groups of people rushed across the open space and threw themselves on the bushes covering the grave, wailing heart-brokenly. *Katopi*, the son of the dead man, who fell on the belongings of his father at the base of a tree (Pl. 24D), tried to cut his head with a knife, but was restrained, as before, by his step-mother, *Dominao*, who led him back to the Bathurst Island *milimika*. This was a signal for everyone to return to their respective *milimikas* and perform the first of a series of dances.

In the Bathurst Island circle, *Nangrinini* danced a canoe dance, paddling and bailing a miniature bark canoe as he pushed it along the ground.

As the Melville Island group were chanting their songs, five men sneaked up to the grave, one of their number peered among the bushes, crawled back to his crouching companions and whispered something to them. At this they all called out loudly, ran back into their *milimika* and carried out a vigorous, almost hysterical dance.

The same performance was repeated, but on the second occasion *Marawani*, one of the chief mourners, ran to the grave, speared it in several places,

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 their bodies (p. 138). Again, a man picked up a *pukamuni* basket, symbolised the pouring out of the cooked *kulama* yam on a sheet of bark and patted it to the *kulama* call of "*Brr, brr, brr*". This action completed the dance.

(c) *The Payments of the Workers*

431 765 While other dances, which I did not see, were being performed in the two *milimikas*, the *pukamuni* men and their wives unpacked the gifts for the "workers", and spread them out on the ground (Pl. 26a). There was much good-natured discussion about their equitable distribution before the presents were finally separated into lots and placed one on the top of each pole.

177 533 765 [302] *Wurarbuti*, resplendent in his body paint and coloured *pukamuni* ornaments, mounted one of the larger poles and chanted songs telling how he became possessed of the great wealth which enabled him to buy the presents for the "workers".

[539] "I am a big Government man," he boasted, "so I was able to get plenty of money."

"I stole the money from the Government to pay for the presents and the police locked me up."

● [535] While *Wurarbuti* chanted this song, *Marawani* and the women danced with their hands crossed as if in handcuffs.

As the song continued, *Marawani* ran after *Pulanimbwi*, dragged him into the *milimika*, and struggled with him in imitation of a policeman making an arrest.

Other songs were chanted ridiculing a Government clerk at Darwin, while one of them "wrote" out an order, passed the "money" to a *pukamuni* man through a window (an opening in a pole) and then demanded, in a loud domineering voice, his thumb-print on a scrap of paper as a receipt.

177 431 765 *Wurarbuti*, still seated on the top of a pole, started to distribute the presents, imitating, as he did so, the actions and broken English which the same clerk used when dealing with aborigines.

"You a worker," said *Wurarbuti*. "Have you a wife? How many children? You work for me, make proper good pole, I pay you."

The "worker" on accepting his payment, put his thumb-print on a scrap of paper (initialled—with a twig—by another *pukamuni* man), and walked away satisfied[61] with his square of printed calico, pipes and tobacco. As each "worker" received his gift the *pukamuni* men performed a dance.

[61] This is not always so. Sometimes a "worker" becomes so annoyed over inadequate payment that he will not allow his pole to be carried to the grave, preferring to let it rot in the forest. On several occasions we saw a pole which had been left in the forest because its maker was dissatisfied with the payment.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

When all the "workers" had been paid, *Wurarbui* called my name and presented me with a number of *pukamuni* arm and chest ornaments (Pl. 31), which normally would have been left on the grave.

These ornaments, *Wurarbui* explained, were a gift from the dead man, *Wuiampari*, because I had assisted in making his *pukamuni* a success.[88]

In the Bathurst Island *milimika* the three "workers" were also receiving their payments.

Jilungfiakuni, although he did not have as good a story to tell as *Wurarbui*, danced around the poles with some of the presents in his hand, singing, "Here I come in an expensive motor-car, with lots of money to pay the 'workers' for cutting such beautiful poles."[89]

(d) *Erecting the Poles around the Graves*

The distribution of the last of the presents was a signal for the "workers" to carry the poles from the respective *milimikas* to the grave.

Some of the poles were both large and heavy; in particular that illustrated on Pl. 34D, which was eighteen feet long, and so heavy that it took seven "workers" to carry it from the *milimika* and up-end it in the hole prepared for it at the grave (Pl. 26A).

As the poles were carried past the Bathurst Island ceremonial ground, *Jilungfiakuni* threw short sticks over them to commemorate the time when the skinny fish, *Pipinjawari*, took part in a spear-throwing contest at the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali* (p. 33).

While the "workers" nonchalantly carried the poles to the grave, the women, with tears running down their cheeks, beat themselves with sticks (until someone restrained them), and the close male relatives, mourning loudly, hysterically cut their heads with steel knives.

Kasopi, the son of the dead man, had washed the painted decorations from his body, and was about to cut his head when he was stopped by his step-mother, *Daminao*. On seeing this, *Marawani*, one of the chief *pukamuni* men, took the knife from the woman and gave it to *Kasopi*, who gashed his head two or three times, and, with blood pouring down his face, threw himself on the ground in a paroxysm of grief.

[88] To help them in their payments I had given the *pukamuni* men some printed calico.

[89] Although these stories about great wealth to pay the "workers" are much Europeanized, they are probably following a traditional pattern, when, instead of referring to money and the goods of the white man, the ceremonial leaders exaggerated the number of spears, ornaments, and other goods they had collected to pay the "workers".

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(*c*) *The Final Mourning Rituals*

765 As soon as the poles were in place the "workers" pulled away the bushes covering the grave. This was a signal for the closing phases of the final rituals. Everyone, men and women, from both Melville and Bathurst Islands, rushed forward and threw themselves on top of one another at the base of the burial poles, until the ground, and even the grave itself, was covered with a mass of human beings, each mourning heartbrokenly.

After a period of mourning, *Jibungliatumi* and *Wurarkuti* rose to their [302] feet, cut off the beards they had grown for the occasion,[84] and washed the painted decorations from their bodies, while the mourners, assembling close [535] to the poles, impersonated, in almost hysterical dance and song, the shark, the rain-woman, the jabiru, and many other mythical heroes of creation times.

Nangrinini, assisted by his wife, first performed the basket dance (Pl. 26c),[85] then once more the dance of the bark canoe. *Pulanimbuwi*, who danced beside him, acted the part of *Jirakati* (Pl. 30j), the sea-eagle, swooping down on its prey.

The return of the ceremonial leaders to the grave was the signal for another exhibition of mass hysteria. Weeping women, beating themselves with sticks, threw themselves on the top of the grave, while men, leaning over the burial poles, mourned continuously in high-pitched wails.

Gradually the sounds of lamentation became less. One by one the mourners left, until there remained only the crouching body of *Waniamperi's* widow, painted entirely in black, a little wizened woman, whose span of life was almost spent.

(2) *The Final Pukamuni of Makapini*

(*a*) *The Opening Rituals*

[302] A little before sunset, the Melville Island men and women assembled to decorate themselves for the final rituals, while *Kitapipatu* (Pl. 27A), a sister of the dead woman, *Makapini*, carrying a long stick, and painted entirely in white, wandered among the *pukamuni* people, crying the *amburu* song.

[184] The body decorations finished, which neither took as long, nor were as elaborate as at the *pukamuni* of *Waniamperi*, the performers assembled about twenty yards from the three burial poles (Pl. 34A, B, F), which the "workers" had hidden from view by a screen of boughs.

[177] [84] Before the days of the white man, the Tiwi men did not cut their beards at the final *pukamuni*, but plucked them out in handfuls. Spencer, 1928, p. 673, Fig. 467, both illustrates and records having seen this curious ritual in the *kulama* ceremony.

[85] Mountford, 1956, p. 434.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

[cf. 88 A]

PLATE 29. *Totemic Dances*
A, Jabiru, Tjalati; B, Owl, Pintoma; C, Lizard, Kilpuruni; D, Frog, Kwouk-kwouk.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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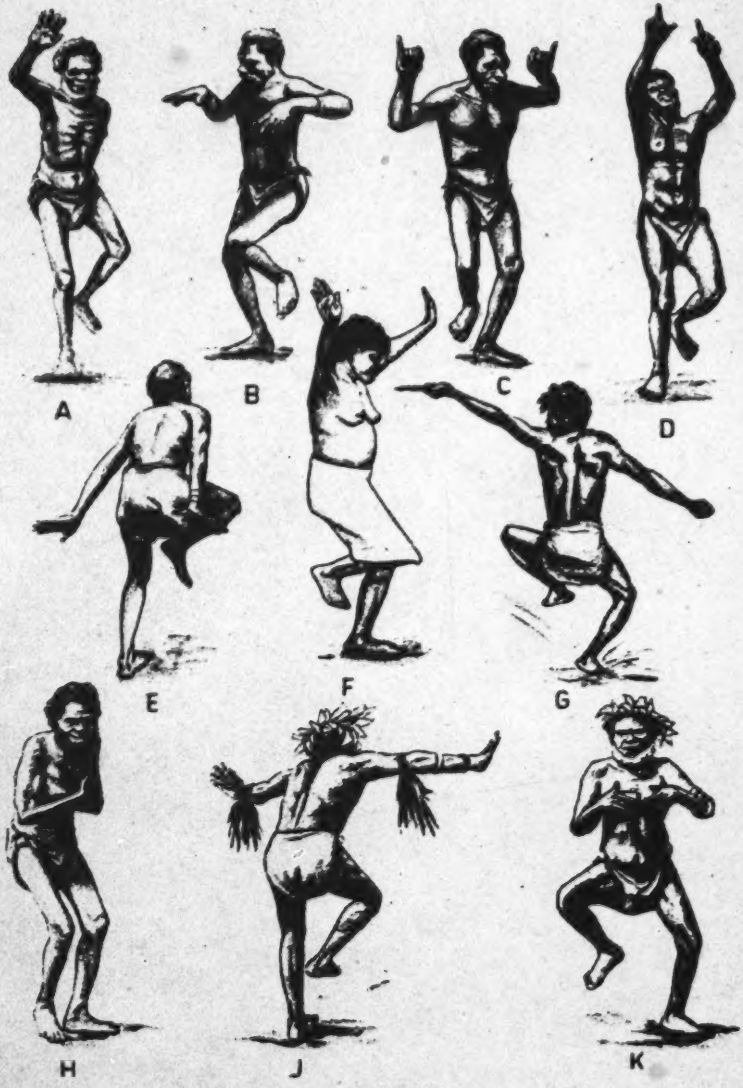

PLATE 30. *Totemic Dances*
A, Moon; B, Rain; C, Flying Fox; D, Wild Honey; E, Crocodile; F, Amburu; G, Shark; H, Skinny Fish; J, Sea-eagle; K, Ningaui.

[p. 88 B]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The ceremony opened with the honey call, then, as the men stepped across a fire lit in the centre of the *milimika* (Pl. 24b), a long sustained mosquito call. Following this, the men formed a circle around the fire, and chanted a song which described the bombing of a ship off the coast of Bathurst Island.

Close female relatives, standing in a line facing the poles, sang the *amburu*, while three men, painted white, each carrying a spear, rushed toward the screen of boughs, peered through them, then returned to the *milimika*. Three other men were given spears, one of whom, with a *tokwanga* (goose-feather ball) in his mouth, took a stand as if to throw a spear at the poles, remarking to his companions as he did so, that he was about to spear a *mopaditi*.

As soon as the "workers" removed the boughs which shielded the poles from view, an old woman, *Jibandaui*, ran forward and beat the ground near the poles, while the six men, with spears poised ready, followed and stabbed around the base of the poles. These rituals, the signal for all the participants to rush to the grave poles and (Pl. 27b) mourn, were carried out to frighten the *mopaditis* from the vicinity of the grave.

A young man with his head and shoulders through an opening in one of the poles, and his arm around an old woman, sobbed bitterly (Pl. 27c) while others stood around either crying or singing the *amburu*.

As the sounds of grief became less, a young man, miming a killing which had taken place some time ago, sneaked up with great stealth, and "speared" *Tjamalampua* who was lying on the ground in the *milimika*.[84] Shortly afterwards the ceremony closed with the usual honey and mosquito calls.

(*b*) *Songs and Dances*

The next morning about 10 a.m., the ceremonies started afresh. On this occasion, all of the songs and dances dealt with secular incidents; a crocodile creeping upon a man to kill him, an aboriginal sailing a European racing boat, another paddling a bark canoe, still another spearing an enemy, and so on.

Several of the aborigines created much laughter by miming the actions of our physical anthropologist, Dr. Carleton Coon, who had just completed a series of body measurements and observations on the Melville Islanders.

One man, using a short stick, measured the arms, legs and body of old *Tjamalampua* as he lay stretched out full length on the ground; he then danced around the *milimika* with his hands round his head, in imitation of the head callipers; another mimed Dr. Coon weighing an aboriginal, cutting his hair and looking at his teeth.

[84] Spencer, 1928, p. 651, describes a similar episode. No doubt the spearing of Tjamalampua had a much deeper symbolism than appeared at the time.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 533 *Wurarbuti* described, in song and dance, how some aborigines from the northern end of the island had tried to kill his father, but the father, being forewarned, had run into the mangrove swamp for shelter. A spear, however, thrown by his enemies, hit him in the side but did not kill him.

[535] [177] Then followed a long series of songs and dances, made up by *Wurarbuti*, describing how the mechanics from Darwin erected a large steel tank at the nearby settlement. To the chanting of songs and beating of buttocks, the actors "rolled" the tank (actually a small log) along the ground, tilted it on one end, rigged blocks and tackle and lifted the "tank" in place. These dances lasted about a half an hour.

Toward the end of this performance, which finished about mid-day, a woman, *Narlaui*, painted entirely in white, and carrying a throwing stick, called upon the dead woman to fight her because, at one time she, *Narlaui*, had reprimanded her for running after men. The aborigines applauded her when she had finished her song. Emboldened by this, *Narlaui* stood in front of one of the poles and challenged the dead woman to a fight.

[535] [177] The ceremony finished[97] with an aeroplane dance, the men posturing in a similar manner to that of the *Jirakati* dance (Pl. 30J).

About sunset, the rituals started afresh with the usual honey and mosquito calls.

Pulanimbuwi and *Muramaqua*, acting the part of little children, struggled with each other in the dust of the *milimika* while one of them sang,

[539] "You can't drink from the same breast as I can because we have different mothers."

Old *Malumerinita*, taking up the same refrain, pushed the two "children" aside as he sang,

[539] "I'm a big man, so I'll drink the milk."

(c) *The Payment of the Workers*

765 It was after dark before the three "workers", who had cut and painted the burial poles, received their payment (Pl. 27D). As each *pukamuni* man passed the goods, loin cloths, and tobacco to the "worker", he cut his head with a [535] knife, and started a dance in which even a number of little girls took part (Pl. 25A). They had been told by some of the older women what to do, so [868] that the youngsters would be conversant with the woman's place in the rituals.

[97] This ceremony would have probably, like that of *Waniampori*, finished at mid-day had not the Superintendent of the settlement insisted on sending the chief woman mourner to a distant locality from which she had been unable to return on time.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

(d) The Final Mourning Rituals

By this time the chief woman mourner, painted entirely in red, had arrived. On reaching the ceremonial ground, she charged against a pole, then leaned over it, crying heartbrokenly. Another woman, *Dominee*, in paroxysms of grief, threw herself on the ground at the base of another pole, while still another woman, dancing the *emburu* before the third pole, told the *mopaditi* of the dead woman, in a song "to keep away from me".

The ceremony finished, like that of *Waniamperi's pukamuni*, with concerted wailing around the poles.

(3) The Pukamuni of Inbiferneri's Infant

This simplified *pukamuni* was held for a premature child of *Inbiferneri*. The child died, about a month previously, at the Darwin hospital. The complete rituals, though curtailed, having occupied only two hours, followed the normal pattern with two exceptions. The *pukamuni* group did not employ any "workers" to cut the burial poles, and, as the body had not been brought to Melville Island, the ceremonies were held at the grave of a young child, of the same parents, who had died about two years previously.

A distant relative, appointed by the father of a "worker" had burnt the grass, cleared a space adjacent to the grave as a dancing ground and draped a turtle rope around the old poles in which had been twisted the wing feathers of geese.[88] For these duties he was given two loin cloths.

There were no dances at the first *ilania* which took place about three hundred yards from the burial site, only prolonged honey and mosquito calls.

The *pukamuni* group then moved to within a hundred yards of the grave where, after more honey and mosquito calls, they lit the *wandiatapinda* fire, and walked through its smoke and flames.

At the commencement of the final rituals, most of the group halted behind a rope, stretched between two trees, over which the "worker" had hung bagging and blankets;[89] but others rushed forward, spears in hand, and, as in the two previous *pukamunis*, stabbed at the base of the poles surrounding the grave to drive away the *mopaditis*.

After this, everyone moved to the grave-side of the screen, the men carrying out a series of dances while the women, beating themselves with sticks, leaned on the *pukamuni* poles and mourned.

While some of the *pukamuni* men chanted a song about the red-fruited eugenia, *binamia*, *Muramajua*, walking around the *milimika*, imitated a

[88] I did not find out the significance of this custom.
[89] This took the place of the screen of boughs used in the normal rituals.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

533 woman picking up the fruit and putting it in a bark basket. Then, bending
535 over, as if carrying a heavy load, he danced around the *milimika* to the
766 rhythm of the song and the beating sticks.

The rituals continued by the *pukamuni* men chanting a series of songs, first
[177] about a boat, then its propeller, its sails and, finally, about the raising of its anchor. During the chanting, one or more aborigines, dancing to the rhythm of the songs, mimed the relevant actions.

766 These dances being finished, the participants of the *pukamuni*, putting their arms around the posts, cried the *amburu*, the mourning song; the men gave the honey and mosquito call, and the burial rituals were over.[80]

6. THE FACIAL DECORATIONS

302 The facial and body decorations of the men and women of the Tiwi, particularly those used during the final *pukamuni* rituals are, by far, the most colourful and elaborate of those used by any Australian aboriginal tribe.

During the early days of the century these decorations attracted the atten-
[114] tion of Basedow (1913, pp. 291–321); Klaatsch (1907, p. 589), and Spencer (1928, p. 669), although nobody, of more recent years, has shown any interest in them.

Although there is little doubt that the desire for artistic expression and
[775] personal beautification are factors behind this practice,[81] the fundamental idea
[517] is that of camouflage, i.e., that the designs will so conceal the identity of the men and women taking part in the ceremony, that the *mopaditis*, who are present at both the *pukamuni* and *kulama*, will not recognize them.

So at both the *ilanias* and the final rituals of the *pukamuni*, everyone, even the little children who look on, is decorated. At the *ilanias*, however, which are performed every evening for some weeks, the decorations are usually simple and often crudely applied. Nevertheless, the aborigines, believing the
[775] *mopaditis* to be stupid folk and easily misled, consider these simple decorations are an adequate safeguard.[82]

Pl. 28 illustrates a number of facial designs. Most of the originals of these
[126] illustrations are colour photographs. Some, however, are based on crayon drawings[83] which my informants made to show the designs they would use for certain totems.

[80] See p. 61 for beliefs in the *mopaditis* of a small child.

[832] [81] The men claimed that when their face and body decorations were good, the women were attracted to them.

[82] Mountford, 1956, p. 437, illustrates a small child decorated at an *ilania*.

[83] The illustrations based on crayon drawings are, Pl. 28A, B, C, D.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
O120 Tiwi O120

Unidentified

The designs on Pl. 28T are the same as those painted on the face of the chief mourner, *Kaupi*, at *Waniamperi's* final *pukamuni*. I did not ask about their meanings. 302 778

Although I did not learn the meanings of the facial designs on the remaining faces on Pl. 28, it is reasonable to suppose they all referred to some mythological story, probably associated with the totem of the aboriginal who wore them.

7. THE PUKAMUNI DANCES

A number of the dances we saw at the *ilanias* and final *pukamuni* rituals belonged exclusively to certain Tiwi totemic groups. They were so constant in form that, in no time, we could recognise the dance and the totem to which it belonged. [794] 765 535

Many of these dances are more strenuous than any belonging to the mainland; some of them, indeed, so strenuous, i.e., the crocodile (Pl. 30B), the shark (Pl. 30C), or the sea-eagle (Pl. 30J), that they seldom lasted more than a minute. [171]

Although I recorded only fourteen of these totemic dances (illustrated on Pls. 29 and 30), I feel sure that these represent but a small proportion of those performed by the Tiwi. For instance, none of the totemic dances belonging to the dead person would have been performed at the burial rituals we witnessed.

Pl. 29A is the dance of the jabiru, *Tjalati*, which was performed with such skill and abandon by *Nilisuma* at the Bathurst Island *ilania* of *Waniamperi's pukamuni* ceremony.

Pl. 29B is the dance of the boobook owl, *Purujikini*, who with his wife, the barn-owl, *Pisuma*, organized the second *kulama* ceremony on Turiturina Island, western Bathurst Island. The dancer is indicating the large eyes of the boobook owl.

Pl. 29C is the dance of the blanket-lizard, *Kilpuruni*, who was punished by *Jurumu*, the wedge-tailed eagle, because the former seduced *Jurumu's* wife. The dancer walked around the ceremonial ground with an awkward gait, in imitation of the blanket-lizard's curious method of locomotion.

Pl. 29D pictures the frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*, who is the mother of the man of the thunderstorms, *Pukadingu*, the woman of the monsoon rain, *Tomiuka*, and the lightning woman, *Bumerali*. The frog dance was performed many times at the *ilanias* of *Waniamperi*, the frog being the totem of his father.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Pl. 30A is the moon-man, *Tjapera*, who fought with *Purukupali* during the creation period. The bent, upraised arm of the dancer symbolizes the crescent moon.

Pl. 30B is the dance of the rain-woman, *Tomituka*, who lives at Wailu with her brother, sister and her mother, the frog-woman, *Kwuk-kwuk*. The fingers pointing downward symbolize the falling rain.

Pl. 30C illustrates the dance of the flying-fox, *Murungimpili*, whose totemic place is at Kaialili lagoon, southern Melville Island. This dance was frequently performed at the *ilanias* of *Nulatini*, her father being a flying-fox man. The dancer, with high steps, moved his arms alternately up and down, with the little fingers pointing upward.

Pl. 30D is the dance of wild honey. In this dance the performer, dancing vigorously around the ceremonial ground, pointed upward, as if to indicate the position of a hive of wild bees.

Pl. 30E is the spirited dance of the crocodile, *Jirakupai*, who, during creation times, transformed himself into a crocodile to escape his enemies. This was not often performed in the burial ceremonies we witnessed.

Pl. 30F is the *amburu*, the women's dance of mourning. When the men are performing in the ceremonial circle, the women come in from the left-hand side performing the *amburu*. I did not collect any specific myth about this dance, except that it has been performed by the women ever since the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*.

Pl. 30G is the dance of the shark, *Tukwala*, probably the most strenuous dance in aboriginal Australia. It is performed only by young men, women and children, the older men claiming that its performance requires too much effort.

Pl. 30H illustrates the dance of the skinny fish, *Pipinjawari*, who injured his spine while taking part in a spear-throwing contest held during the final *pukamuni* rituals of *Purukupali*. The dancer is miming the pain that *Pipinjawari* suffered on account of his injury.

Pl. 30J is an attractive and graceful dance symbolizing the sea-eagle, *Jirakui*, swooping down on its prey, with its wings outspread. This dance was performed many times at the *ilanias* of the woman, *Nulatini*.

Pl. 30K, the *Ningaui* dance, symbolizes the awkward gait and curious actions of these dwarf spirit people who live in the swamps of south-western Bathurst Island. This dance was performed with considerable skill and artistry by the leader of the Bathurst Island group, *Jibunglialumi*, at one of the *ilanias* of *Waniamperi*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

After a pause, another aboriginal entered the ring and sang about the previous singer's dead father.

(*e*) "My stomach gets hot like fire,[35] when I think of you, my uncle." Some of the women cried when the song was finished.

(7) *Cooking the Kulama Yam*

When the fire had burnt down to a bed of coals, the men picked up the fragments of burning wood, throwing them in all directions, scraped out the glowing embers with sticks, brushed the ashes from the heated termite mound with boughs, and the oven was ready for cooking the *kulama* yams. Meanwhile, one of the men had bound the rushes into a rope, *imbini*, about an inch in diameter, and sufficiently long to encircle the oven. The fragments of heated termite mound were lightly sprinkled with water, the *imbini* rope coiled around them, the yams carefully arranged on top and the whole covered first with thin sheets of newly split paper-bark, then with sand. Care was taken to cover the yams properly, otherwise, the aborigines explained, *taini*, the *kulama* sickness, would escape and cause blindness to the immediate participants.

As the oven was being covered, the leader patted the sand to consolidate it (Pl. 442), chanting at the same time, "Brr, Brr, Goodbye, Grandmother, goodbye",[36] in the same way as the owl-man, *Purutjikini*, did at the first *kulama*.

While the yams were being cooked, the *kulama* people performed the following dances, to the rhythm of sticks beaten by the women.

(*a*) The dance of *jiriwa* (silver-crowned friar-bird).

(*b*) Two crocodiles, *jirakupai*, fighting (Pl. 301), followed by two aborigines as crocodiles crawling in the sand.

(*c*) A crocodile; the dancer carrying the goose-feather ball (*tokwianga*) in his mouth to symbolise the prey of the crocodile.

(*d*) The green turtle with the hands and arms of the dancer moving in imitation of the turtle's flippers.

Two young women, when asked to dance, performed:

(*e*) The crocodile, *jirakupai*,

(*f*) The buffalo,

(*g*) The shark (Pl. 300).

[35] The stomach, or solar-plexus, is the location of the *imunka* (spirit), and the seat of the emotions.

[36] The *kulama* yam is looked upon as a female when it is dug up, placed beside the *wuringalua* tree and immersed in the water for the first time. When taken from the swamp it is male, again becoming female from the time it is put in the oven until it is eaten.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

arm rings, *jairinas* (Pl. 31H), they seated themselves outside the *milimika*, but took no part in the subsequent rituals. 881 [301]

Other fully initiated men led initiates of the *Wadjeniati* grade to the *wuringaleta* tree, where the yams had been stored on the second morning, told them to sit down and erected a low screen of boughs in front so that the initiates could not be seen from the *milimika*.

The *Mikingulas* first painted the bodies of the *Wadjeniati* initiates with yellow paint, then decorated them with many cane rings, *jairinas* (Pl. 31H), on their upper arms, hair-string belts, *ularimi*, around their waists and goose-feather balls, *tokwiangas* (Pl. 31B), on their necks, arms and wrists (see Pl. 42J). This ritual admitted them to the grade of *Mikinatrina* and *Mikinatrininga* respectively. 881 302 [301]

After the *Wadjeniati* initiates were decorated, the senior grades of the *kulama* painted their faces, bodies, hair and beards with elaborate designs in red, yellow, black and white. In one design, peculiar to the *kulama*, the aborigines covered one side of their faces with red paint, and the other side with black,[87] the two colours being separated with a line of yellow (Pl. 42M). The men painted a complex design, usually in red and white on their hair and beards.[88] Some of the men also decorated their children.

The leader of the *kulama* then assembled everyone to see the *Mikinatrina* initiates perform their first dance, which they had been quietly practising for some time. 535 881

At a given signal, each *Mikinatrina* stood up in turn and, gaily decorated with body paint and coloured ceremonial ornaments, and holding a flat fighting club, *juruwila*, in either hand, performed his first dance. As each initiate danced, the assembled people applauded, slapping their buttocks in approbation of both the dancing and the appearance of the initiates. [201]

When the *Mikinatrinas* had finished their dance, the female initiates, the *Mikinatriningas*, similarly decorated, but without the clubs, individually performed their dances. Still painted and wearing their decorations, the male and female *Mikinatrinas* seated themselves outside of the *milimika* beside the newly created *Kilipaniatis*.

After the initiates had finished their dances, several of the *Mikingulas* entered the *milimika* and chanted another series of secular songs. [533]

[87] Spencer, 1928, p. 674, who saw a *kulama* ceremony during 1911, refers to this curious form of facial decoration.

[88] The method of colouring the hair with intricate designs is of some interest. The aboriginal, loading his fingers and thumb with wet ground-up ochre, pinched the hair, instead of rubbing the colour into it. By this means, the operator was able to keep sharp well-defined edges to the design, an effect that could not be achieved in any other way.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

177 533 539 881 *Wurarkui* described some of his experiences when he visited Brisbane to dance before the Queen of England.

(*a*) "I saw the big boat, Marella, beside the jetty at Brisbane, many motor cars, boats and trains. The boats went under a big bridge over the river, and across that bridge went the motor cars. The ship's flags were flying."

Another man sang.

(*b*) "The *tapalingas* (stars) are like those on the American flag in Darwin. They lifted the flag up in the morning, and let it down at night."

(*c*) "The *tadiwali* (shark) swims about the sea looking for stingrays."

[535] The onlookers applauded this song and asked the singer to perform the shark dance (Pl. 300), which he did to the delight of all.

(*d*) "I am a wireless man, and have sent native tucker (food) all over Australia. The Native Affairs branch in Darwin listened in."

(*e*) "Leo Hickey's boat comes quickly to Snake Bay with a cargo of food from Darwin."

Another *Mikingula* chanted a lengthy song describing the making of a wooden canoe, the felling of a tree in the jungle, the length and shape of the craft and the final launching.

After these songs, the *kulama* men rested in the shade, and the initiates sat by the side of the *milimika*, until about sunset.

(10) *Taking the Cooked Yams to Water*

881 The *Mikingulas*, starting from equally spaced positions on the periphery, crawled toward the basket of cooked and sliced yams standing in the centre of the *milimika*, and pretended to fight over it. While this was going on, the women, beating sticks together, called out "Brr-brr", as did the owl-man, [535] *Purutjikini*, at the first *kulama*. Meanwhile two of the *Mikingulas* vigorously performed the crocodile dance (Pl. 308). Then with a loud cry, one of them picked up the basket containing the yams, and followed by most of the women and children, carried the basket to the water.

With long-drawn-out calls, and the sound "Brr-brr", the men tipped the cut-up yams from the basket on to a grass bed on the bottom of the stream. While the leader patted the surface of the water, the rest of the people called in a high trilling note, similar to the mosquito call of the *pukamuni* ceremony, [821] ending up in a loud *yoi*. These calls, they said, would cause still more thunder storms and heavy rain.

533 881 It was quite dark (about 7.30 p.m.) when the *kulama* people assembled to hear the *Mikinatrina* initiates sing for the first time. For, at this stage of the ceremony, each male initiate of the *Mikinatrina* grade was invited by the

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

without quarrels. Again, there is no comparable ceremony on the mainland. 171 [881]

(c) Throughout the mainland of Australia, women occupy a low social status within the tribal framework. They are rigidly excluded from almost all aspects of the ceremonial life, and of initiation; they also are ignorant of most of the creation myths, the procedures of the secret rituals, and even the existence of the sacred objects. 171 562

These restrictions do not apply to the women of the Tiwi. They are initiated, side by side, with the men, and take similar though not identical parts in the ritual. They also participate in all phases of the burial ceremonies, at which they usually perform their own dance, the *Amburu*, but occasionally take part in dances which are performed by the men (Pl. 25c). A woman even has the right to cut and paint a burial pole, if her husband, who has been allotted the task, is unavoidably absent. In short, I was unable to find any aspect of Tiwi ceremonial life in which women could not take their part if they so desired.

(d) Although the creation story of the Tiwi is basically similar to that of the aborigines elsewhere in Australia, it is not as elaborate as, say, the travels of the Wawalik and the Djunkgao Sisters of Arnhem Land, recorded by Warner (1937), nor those of Central Australia, described by Spencer and Gillen (1899). I did not witness, nor did I hear of any specific Tiwi ceremony that commemorated the myths of the creation period. The dances in the *ilanias*, and the final rituals of the burial ceremony, usually referred to the various creatures or the elements, but seldom to an incident in the creation myth. 171 773 [535]

(e) There are also important differences between many of the myths of the Tiwi and those of the mainland people. For instance, in northern Australia, it is the moon man who brings death to mankind; in Melville Island the same moon-man endeavours to prevent death from coming to the world. I have already pointed out other wide differences between the astronomical myths of the mainland and those of the adjacent Melville Island.

On Arnhem Land, in fact, as far as South Australia, the aborigines, almost without exception, believe that their spirits go to a distant land not visible to human eyes, where there is continuous good weather, and an abundance of easily gathered food. 171 775

On the other hand, the Tiwi believe that at the close of the burial rituals the spirits of their dead return to their separate birthplaces, where each one hunts for food in the same manner as its living relatives, suffering, as they do, from exposure if the weather is inclement, and from hunger if the food supplies are limited.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

demands it; but usually, when on a simple turtle or dugong hunting expedition, two persons only occupy places in the craft, one near the bow and another near the stern (*vide* Plate X, Figs. 1 and 2). The boatmen, while propelling the craft, squat with their buttocks resting upon the heels and with their knees pressed against the sides. The weight of their body being thus well within the boat, its stability is thereby considerably increased.

Paddles.—Propulsion is effected by means of paddles which are made of hard wood. They have a single well-shaped blade and a rounded handle (*vide* Plate XII, Fig. 2). The edges of the blade are parallel or taper slightly towards the end, which is square or rounded. Apart from the marks left by the tomahawk used in its making, the implement is without ornamentation. In one case only, a circular collar was carved around the handle, immediately above the sloping shoulder of the blade. The longest paddle noted measured 167 centimetres in length, its blade 80; the shortest was 115 centimetres in length and its blade 45. The width of the blades ranges from 7 to 9 centimetres. Both hands clasp the paddle, which is dipped alternately on one side or the other as the occasion and the steering require it.

Balers.—Water that accumulates in the canoe, either by leakage or overwash in a rough sea, is removed by means of a baler which is made out of the melon shell[1] (*Melo diadema*). The columella of the shell is carefully cut away, leaving only the large body-whorl, which is used as a scoop (*vide* Plate XI, Figs. 3 and 4). The outer surface of the shell is painted with red and yellow ochre in large cross pattern, with a fine cross shading.

Dug-outs.—The dug-out canoes to which I have elsewhere referred[2] have, in all probability, been introduced by Malays from whom the natives obtain them by barter. Dr. Walter Roth has also proved that the dug-outs met with along the coast of Queensland are of Papuan origin. The form observed in Apsley Strait is without outrigger and hollowed out of a single tree trunk. The bow and stern are raised (*vide* Plate X, Fig. 2).

Corrobborees.

As with all primitive folk, song and dance constitute the ultimate stage of any social intercourse or festivity. The islanders are even more ready than their brothers on the mainland to resort to this means of entertainment. It thus happened that, wherever we came into contact with the blacks and presented them with divers small articles, a corrobboree was immediately inaugurated; even though the encounter happened to occur in the middle of the day. Corrobborees on the

[1] *Cf. Narrative Voyage H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* vol. ii, p. 17: "the baler (a melon shell) is in constant requisition."

[2] *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 53. Among others, note that Major Campbell says of the Port Essington natives that "such of the canoes as I saw were hollowed from the trunks of trees, like those of the Malays and were probably either left by these people or stolen from them," *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, vol. iv, 1834, p. 170.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

527 mainland, it will be remembered, are with preference postponed until after night-
535 fall. The women were not permitted to take part in the proceedings, but were,
[562] indeed, kept at some considerable distance off. Youths and male children were allowed to join in the ceremonies without apparent restriction. When we met with men, hunting in the bush, and they had been convinced of our *bona fide* intentions, they would approach us in groups of from two to four, and deliver up their long
[200] spears to us. Several of the young men would, in the meantime, run into the woods as messengers to summon others who were as yet unaware of the presence of the strangers in their haunts.

203 A corrobboree[1] having been decided upon, the signal or invitation to take part
527 in the event is sounded by two or three of the older men, who have previously arranged it among themselves. This initial note is a long-drawn, continuous yell resembling the German diphthong ö! Other members immediately fall in with the same note and are joined, at intervals, by others excitedly rushing up to take their stand alongside of those who started the call. The monosyllabic "ö" is kept continuous by the combined efforts of many voices, each of which individually expires for a moment, after the lungs' capacity for air has been completely exhausted. The note is, however, taken up again immediately after a fresh supply of air has been inhaled. The weirdness of the monotone is suddenly broken by the powerful voice of the "master" of the ceremonies, who brings forth a penetrating, but abrupt, order resembling "wahoi." This is instantly and collectively repeated by all others present. A momentary silence follows and allows the sombre trunks of the surrounding forest to reiterate the final word in ringing echoes.

The leader once more gives the note; this time in a slightly modified form resembling a long-continued "ye," that merges imperceptibly into a "yi." A sudden shrill "wahoi-hoi" brings that note also to a stop. A deadly silence prevails.

527 The primary appellation now being over, the performers congregate themselves into a compact group. In the meanwhile much excited vociferation ensues from every mouth, young as well as old. At this stage their eyes make a survey of any
[628] neighbouring encampment and if, by chance, a likely performer is noticed who has not heeded the appeal and is shirking his duty by non-attendance, he is furiously implored, at times abusively, to join the assemblage of performers. The leader now emerges from the group at a walking pace and is followed, in single file, by all participants, each in his turn falling into regular order as though his place had previously been allotted to him. The course taken by the leader is a winding one; walking, at first, some distance away from the point of starting but returning
527 eventually thereto. The musical accompaniment is started afresh, and though not
533 exactly melodious to the European ear, it is certainly a remarkably clever and original production on the part of the aboriginal. The nearest way we might describe it in words is that it is in the form of a trill, produced by a rapidly repeated

[1] Compare also H. Klaatsch, *Proc. Austr. Assoc. Adv. Science*, 1907, vol. xi, pp. 589 and 590.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

"i, i, i, . . . ," changing, it may be, occasionally to a "hi, hi, hi, ..." "That one all-a-same bird," remarked one of my Larrekiya boys, who stood near to me, quite overcome with excitement; and, indeed, I did now recognize the similarity to the trill of the great stone-plover or "curlew" (*Oedicnemus sp.*). The leader having in the interim returned to the starting point and thus completed that part of the performance in which we might be prone to find an analogy with the polonaise of a modern ball, suddenly "doubles" or breaks to a running pace and all the others follow his example. He selects a wide spiral course, gradually nearing the centre and concentrating the body of men to a mass of humanity which to the observer seems to be moving in confusion and disorder. The pace quickens. The men stamp the ground with their feet, at the same time throwing up their arms and keeping them erect from the shoulder. An explosive shriek from the leader is echoed by the voices of all the others. The stamping of feet ceases and the arms of the performers drop to their sides. The leader now steps out to a position in front of his group of men, who, all of them, have turned to face the same way, viz., towards him. Looking to one side and lifting his arm in that direction, the leader emits a high-pitched shriek, which, as his arm is swept downwards on that side, is followed by a combined roaring "hoi" of all the others. This item is repeated several times over; alternately on one side and the other, in succession. This concludes another part of the corrobboree.

All performers now form themselves into a semi-circular group. The excitement is intense; forcible argument and debating ensue, accompanied by jocular shouting and laughing, which are repeatedly stimulated by gleeful interjections of "irr," an exclamation common to all Australian tribes.[1]

Having come to some different arrangement among themselves, a "tempo" is set by all members clapping either one or both of their hands upon the sides of their thighs, or their buttocks, producing dull and drum-like sounds by the impact. The latter are in marked unison and rhythmical. A performer now jumps from the semicircle of the time-beaters and runs round in a circle, facing its centre, and all the while stamping his feet. The interest and excitement increase among the audience, who further subsidize the accompaniment with a note, that is produced by a spluttering movement of the lips and sounds like "brr, brr, brr." As the stamping of the performer is accelerated, the clapping quickens with it. All at once he throws up his head and shouts "poop." This solicits an immediate response of "iah" from all others present.

Stationing himself in the centre, he next cuts some wonderfully clever and athletic antics. At the start he stamps the ground vigorously with both feet in alternation; the crowd keeping excellent time with their accompaniment of clapping hands upon their buttocks. As his pace increases, the beats of the hands become sharper and both hands are used (usually when striking the buttocks more posteriorly). While he stamps his feet, the performer, at the same time, vibrates

[1] *Vide* footnotes, H. Basedow, *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 33.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

his legs in a remarkable manner; a hyperflexibility in the knee produces, alternately, a temporary valgus- and varus-deformation of the limbs. The arms are thrown straight-outwardly from the shoulders; the hands being dorsally flexed at the wrists. He throws his head from one side to another and occasionally backwards. At times he jumps wildly from one place to another, emitting, with each bound, a loud coarse cry of "poop," which, as before, is followed by a shrill "iah" from all others present. This item being repeated almost to exhaustion, the performer rushes back into the midst of the group while appreciative shrieks of laughter and applause conclude that part.

When the beating of time starts afresh, other performers may repeat the same act and try to excel the performance of their predecessor.

Other items follow, which are imitative in character. A few may be described. It will be understood that the beating of time continues throughout, as do, also, the frequent interjections of "poop" and "iah."

The kangaroo ceremony.—A kangaroo ceremony is started by one or two men jumping into the ring with their legs slightly bent at the knee. Their arms are held forward, bent vertically and at right angles at the elbow, with their hands prone and partly closed. The whole posture is to resemble that of the hopping marsupial of Australia. In jumping round the space, the actor turns his head from side to side, face downwards, as though in search of food. When such is supposed to have been found, his hands may assist to support his body and the hopping ceases. His legs are then bent strongly in the knees, so that his body sinks and the buttocks come to rest immediately above the heels, or, indeed, he may squat entirely upon the ground. Both hands being now placed on the ground between the open thighs, they are held together in the form of a scoop and made to take up a quantity of sand between them. Gently rubbing the hands backwards and forwards they are slowly passed to the level of the mouth and then above it, retaining a horizontal position all the time. This process is repeated several times. Then, at the moment that the sand is dropped to earth, the men rise to their feet with a bound and start running round the ring with the stamping of feet described above and a peculiar hissing noise from their lips. The act is interrupted at frequent intervals by a cry of "poop," which is echoed by the resounding voices of "iah." The hopping recommences. The men occasionally stop and scratch one of their legs with one hand, held in imitation of a claw. Then, while that hand is being held erect, and in a bent position, the opposite hand scratches that limb also. Either arm is now brought into contact with the mouth and licked in precisely the same way as the animals themselves do. The pace of the timekeepers at this stage quickens once more, and the performers furiously scratch all accessible parts of their body with increased zeal. An unexpected cry of "poop," followed by a hearty "iah," terminates this part amid loud shrieks and applause.

It is not long, however, before the two performers again leap into the ring, each armed with a light reed, resembling a spear, in his hand. The above ceremony is partly recapitulated, being, however, slightly modified in that one man, at intervals,

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

takes the part of a hunter endeavouring to drive his spear into the enraged kangaroo on the opposite side of the ring. 527 535

Corrobboree of the ship of war.—The next item in the ceremony appeals to us Europeans in a twofold sense. Firstly, the mimicry on the part of the aboriginal in an introduced scene is excellent: its effect being still more enhanced in that his artistic genius has expanded the original impressions by adequate interludes of his own invention and taste. Secondly, the observer's sentiment and appreciation are kindled afresh when he sees this savage folk, who are oft not credited with the possession of anything but vice and immorality, present to a subsequent and younger generation, scenes in living picture, which happened long ago in the days of the naval settlement of Fort Dundas. To us the records are available in the libraries throughout the world; to the aboriginal the events can only be handed down by tradition and such ceremonies as that which is now to be described. 177 527 535 [173 182]

The chorus or semicircular group of men have again started their rhythmical accompaniment by clapping upon the lateral aspect of their thighs with the arched palm of one hand. A performer rushes into the centre of the half-ring and, after going through a few preliminaries, stands with one of his legs placed a short distance in front of the other and slightly flexed at the knee. Throwing his head back and looking upwards, he starts a vigorous hauling action by alternately throwing one arm out in the direction he is looking, closing the fist and making an imaginary pull right down to his loins, while at the same time the opposite arm is thrown out and returned in a similar way. Accurate time is kept by the time-beaters. This act is in imitation of the hauling-in of a sail on a European man-of-war, such as the natives saw at Fort Dundas nearly a century ago. The performer now turns and runs to the opposite corner of the half-ring; the onlookers marking the time by clapping to it in a quickened beat produced with both hands upon their buttocks. The same act is repeated there several times. Next, the same hauling motion is continued, but reversed from below towards the body, in imitation of the hauling-up of an anchor. Several short and harsh interjections suggest the orders of the commanding officers and the whole ceremony, in fact, is reproduced with a suspicion of caricature upon the strictness of naval discipline. During this part of the performance, several cries of "poop" and "ish" are again sounded. The actor now moves about in the semicircle with the familiar stamping of feet and cutting out the most grotesque antics. He first extends his arms straight out on either side, throws his head back and moves his thorax laterally in a pendulous manner from the hips. Then he turns his arms through a right-angle frontwards, so that they project slantingly upwards, whence he again changes them to the former position. Then again he extends his arms downward and bends them so that the elbows project behind and his fists rest against his flanks, from which position they are presently changed to a straight pendulous one. After remaining in that position a short while, he suddenly throws them furiously upwards in front of him; the stamping, which has been

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

continued all the while, is at this stage strengthened. Any of these acts may be interrupted at any moment by changing to the "hauling of sail or anchor" scene and many interjections of "poop" and "iah" accompany them. The performer himself now ceases to stamp with his feet, but in place thereof he bends his legs at the knees and knocks his thighs together while he extends his arms outwards, either in front or at the side of him.

Corrobboree of a fight.—During several of the corrobborees described, a chant was heard which accompanied the acting in addition to the clapping of hands against the thighs or buttocks. In trying to reproduce the words or syllables of this chant, the nearest analogy I can find is—

"*Tupera monan la jerra*
Tupera monan la jerra,"

and

"*Tupatunan tenakomejona.*"

These chants are muttered uninterruptedly throughout the particular part. The corrobboree of a fight consists in the imitation of a spear duel between two angry blackfellows. They carry the same kind of reed-spears as was described under the "kangaroo ceremony." They first place themselves in defiance of one another at either side of the half-circle and go through all sorts of antics, brandishing their spears, rolling their eyes, and furiously throwing their bodies about. Next they start running about the ring and stamp their feet, throwing up their arms and knocking their thighs together in much the same way as previously described.

Corrobboree of the jungle fowl.—After the usual excessive amount of shouting, jabbering, and excited shrieks of laughter, an old man runs forward into the ring. He bends his arms at the elbow and holds them close against the sides of his body, while the closed fists rest on his chest, an attitude resembling that of a professional runner. This is to resemble the wings of the bird (*Leipoa*). He looks about the ground from side to side as though in search of something. Presently he imitates the bird's call with a shrill penetrating voice which sounds like "he-r-r-r-l." The onlookers' accompaniment consists in producing short spluttering and bubbling noises with their lips that sound like "brrl, brrl, brrl." The performer often interrupts the proceedings by shouting "he," to which all others respond with a loud "yeh." Now he throws up clouds of dust behind him with his feet, in imitation of the way in which the jungle fowl scratch and throw up the earth into the enormous mounds that contain their eggs.

To conclude the ceremony, all performers are led off again by the original leader in Indian file and go through much the same performance as they did in the initiation of the ceremony; the final shouts and shrieks, after the completion of the "trot" in spiral line, being particularly loud and enthusiasic.

Captain King[1] was probably the first white man to have witnessed the

[1] *Survey Intertropical Coasts of Australia*, 1837, vol. i, p. 114.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Notes on The

corrobboree of the Melville Islanders, but it appears that he regarded the demonstration as hostile. He writes that "the dance consisted chiefly of the performers leaping two or three times successively out of the sea, and then violently moving their legs so as to agitate the water into foam for some distance around them, all the time shouting loudly and laughing immoderately; then they would run through the water for eight or ten yards and perform again; and this was repeated over and over as long as the dance lasted."

During none of these ceremonies, or indeed anywhere on the island, did I see anything of totemism in the scientific sense of the word. This fact is in accordance with my observations in Central and North Australia, and my negative evidence is amply borne out by the researches of Drs. W. E. Roth and H. Klaatsch and others.

Pastimes.

The sham-fights of youths with small arrow-shaped spears have already been mentioned. Children were observed upon the beach competing in running and long jump. A favourite amusement of the younger folk on a breezy day is to collect the light globular seed-heads of the "spring rolling grass" (*Spinifex hirsutis*), that grow on every sand-hill near the coast, and take them to the beach and there release them on the hardened sand. Driven along by the wind, these seeds travel over the surface at no mean pace. Allowing them to gain a fair start, the children bolt after them and endeavour to overtake them and pick them up from the ground while dashing past them at full speed in "cow-boy" fashion.

Another game is that of hand-ball. The seeds of the zamia (*Cycas media*) take the place of a small ball. Two lads stand facing one another and hit the seed to and fro with the palms of their hands, after the style of a modern game of tennis.

Despite their keenness of sight and quickness of hand, they are, nevertheless, very backward in catching with their hands an object which is thrown at them.

Burial Method.

The aborigines of Bathurst and Melville Islands have a unique and elaborate method of burial; graves have been found on both islands. It appears that the favourite places for burying the dead are there, where a jungle or mangrove-thicket breaks to the ordinary eucalypt-woodland, usually near to the sea-coast or to a native water.

Historically we have to note several observations in this connection.

Sir Gordon Bremer[1] mentions having discovered a grave on Bathurst Island in 1824. "The situation was one of such perfect retirement and repose that it

[1] *Imperial Parliamentary Paper*, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, London, March 27th, 1843; also in *The Genesis of Queensland*, by H. S. Russell, Sydney, 1888, p. 34.

765 the pieces in a bark bag, with intervals of walking and chanting. The crowd had now invaded his circle and his walking was confined to a small sector of the circle. Once he washed his hands, head and beard with water and retired to eat. When he had finished, the small boy brought a bark bag of water, which he emptied into the bag containing the cut-up yams. After dark, about 7.30, the old man began to chant again
● [535] within the circle. He was joined by a number of men, and they shuffled around chanting, slapping their buttocks, and dragging one foot. Finally they shouted and then moved off in single file to a small water channel in the grass nearby. The grass was trodden down and the old man tipped the yams into the water, while the chorus beat their buttocks and cried "Broop." A shout was given and they then dispersed.

During the night the old man chanted at intervals. At sunrise he was seen standing beneath a palm rubbing himself with ochre, and the small boy attending him. He chanted and others joined him. They filed down to the creek, where a shout like "R-r-r-r-p" was given. The old man started to eat the yams and others followed. They then returned to the circle and cleared it by scraping outwards with their feet, tufts of grass and pieces of bark being thrown away. The stones from the central pile were placed round the edge of the circle. The old man took three small stones from the centre and threw them a few feet into the air, with the shout of "R-r-r-r-p." The ceremony was finished.

The language difficulty was formidable, but I learned that I had broken in on the third day of the ceremony. On the first day palm nuts (*kwawka*) had been gathered and eaten. On the second day yams had been collected and had been cooked at sunrise on the third day. I was told that

Cp 79-B]

11:Goodale E-5 (1964, 1967) 1963 CE20 Tiwi CE20

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SHARK DANCE is among traditional, imitative figures that are performed during ritual preparation of toxic *Kulama* yams.

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ceived additional instruction in spear-fishing and birding, while girls were taught more intensively to locate and identify edible plants. The children, as a result, were generally independent economically in their early teens, by

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which time the girls were already married. Young males contributed to their parents' larder and to other households, but did not marry and acquire households until they

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were more than thirty years old. Even now, this late marriage age obtains in theory, but not always in practice.

885 THUS, to the Tiwi, economic independence and/or marriage did not alone signify adulthood. The Tiwi adult was intellectually, rather than physiologically, a mature individual who was expected to join actively in the non-economic affairs of the community. An adult was also expected to be almost entirely responsible for his own health, wealth, and future prospects. This included attaining success in hunting and in war and, for the men, in wife-collecting. If an adult became ill or was injured or, as a Tiwi would say, was unlucky in the pursuit of life's benefits, he alone was responsible for not behaving as an adult should.

884 The annual *Kulama* ceremony, held by each community in April at the end of the rainy season, was a most important event to insure individual success. Although a collec-

[P. 11, (C)]
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 12(C)]

11:Goodale E-5 (1964, 1967) 1983 CX20 Tiwi CX20

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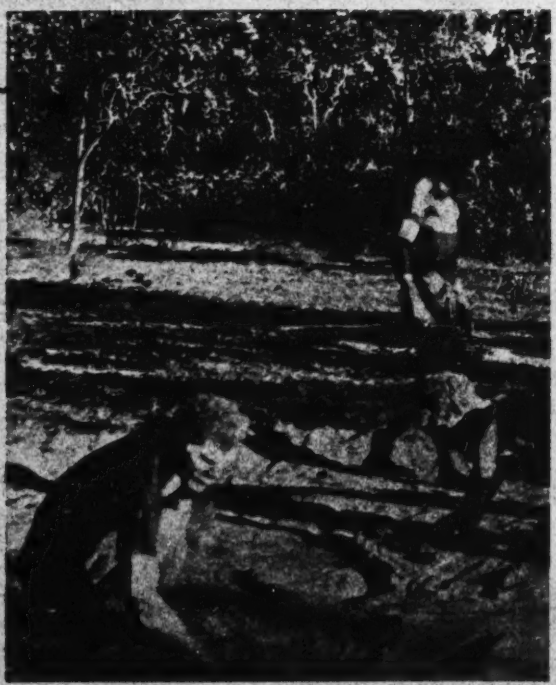
Before seeing tapes, the ritual participants dip hands into white paint and pat it around eyes to insure acute vision.



Ceremonial ring is prepared by clearing ground of grass, sticks, and stones. Participants will sing and dance there.

[P. 12, (B)]

11;Goodale E-5 (1954, 1962) 1963 CH20 Tiwi CH20

884 [460] [535] [305] 884 533 [534] [535] are allowed to dig the yam. A special dance area, or ceremonial ring, is cleared on the ground and a special cooking fire is built in its center. On each of the three ceremonial days the participants paint themselves in specified ways with ocher. During the evening of each day, while the yams are soaking or cooking, the male participants, singly or together, walk slowly counterclockwise around the ceremonial fire, beating sticks together as an accompaniment to specially composed songs. At times the wives, who remain outside the ring, sing with the men, or they may join their husbands in traditional dances that imitate various aspects of the natural world around them.

The songs are a vital part of the ritual. They must be newly composed for the occasion and may relate to any event or abstract idea the composer chooses. The songs [154] often deal with injustices the singer has experienced in the past year, about which he wishes to register an "official" complaint:

[539]

"There was a funeral,
You went first, I came after.
Old people came in first.
I was late because I had a *Kulama*.
Why didn't you wait for me?"

or

"When Dory have baby girl
The old man said, 'That's for you.'
Dory, my mother-in-law, she burns me.
Dory doesn't know the old people way.
I would like to kill her."

Others may be in the nature of news reports, in which the listeners are informed of anything interesting that may have happened to the singer during the preceding year. CBD For instance, the composer of the following song had just

[Text continues on p. 14, (A)--Analyst]
[p. 13, (B)]

13:Barclay J-3 (ca.1939)1939 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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BATHURST ISLAND NATIVES PRACTISING A CORROBOREE DANCE.

[p. 12]

13:Barclay 3-3 (ca. 1939)1939 O120 Tiwi O120

797 ters, supervising the lubras' work and ordering stores, which are brought from Darwin by the mission's own lugger *St. Francis*. The pleasant lunch we had at the refectory, where wide windows, open all round, admitted every wandering breeze, was due to their efforts, and later I was to see something of the results of their teaching.

797 871 School, both for boys and for girls, takes up only two and a half hours each day, but the pupils learn quickly, and the more they are taught the more they can absorb. Reading and writing are mastered without any more difficulty than in the case of white children of the same age, though the pupils were very shy and almost inaudible when exhibiting their prowess. Arithmetic they do not take to so kindly, unless they happen to be interested by some problem that has a definitely practical application to their own lives; but drawing comes natural to the islanders, as it does to the blacks of the mainland, where I had already seen very spirited sketches made by aboriginal children. Of the affection of the children, both for the sisters and the mission fathers, there was no doubt. To be as close to them as possible was an honour they were all bent on securing.

797 562 THE "blackies," as they call the girls, range in age from tiny tots to those who are practically young women. They were all much excited by the novelty of our visit, bubbling over with laughter, whispering and giggling together. The older "blackies" eye a visitor coyly, smiling over their shoulders with a flash of white teeth; and, when the pilot and I came along with one of the sisters to hear them sing the "Magnificat" and "Adeste Fideles," they fled shrieking, only to turn round and giggle again when they thought that they were far enough away.

"No more gammon!" called the sister, and they lined up demurely to sing their hymns right tunefully, with spasms of giggles in the intervals. To hold up a finger is quite sufficient to bring shrieks of delight from these childish, happy creatures. "Georgie," a very little boy with a very big tummy, so young that he was not yet at the boys' school, sang "Georgie Porgie, puddiny pie, kissed the girls and made them cry" with much aplomb and gesture. If Georgie was at the girls' school, he did not forget that he was a man. He spoke man's language, not woman's talk such as women by custom must use on Bathurst Island, and he sat down like a man with knees wide apart, not together as a woman must.

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● 535 [562] Then, while the older "blackies" formed a circle, chanting in their own language and clapping their hands in time, little girls, two by two, performed women's dances, which again differ from those of the men. There were buffalo, bullock, and lugger dances, when they imitated the animals with arms widespread or bent slightly at the elbows to represent the horns, or held at angles such as those at which sails are set on a lugger, while, now and then, two little feet beaten together faithfully copied the "put-put" of Diesel engines.

More ambitious and complicated was the dance of the overseas mail 'plane that flies from Singapore to Darwin, when whirling arms represented the propellers and stamping feet the beat of the engines. There is, by the way, a sacred language used for songs, and it is only in this language that the name of the dead can be mentioned. If by chance anyone should mention a dead man's name in the ordinary language, every one within hearing will spit with vigour. If defenceless, the maker of such a faux pas will be hit about the head.

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